DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 189 876 FL 011 557

AUTHOR Finer, Neal
TITLE Alma Reed: A Unique Bicultural Bridge between North American and Mexican Cultures in the Twentieth Century.
PUB DATE 1 Oct 79
NOTE 20p.: An appended map has been omitted because of poor reproducibility.

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC01 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Art History: *Biculturalism: *Biographies: Culture Contact: *Folk Culture: *Hispanic American Culture
IDENTIFIERS *Mexico: *Reed (Alma)

ABSTRACT

Alma Reed, a Californian who became a noted figure in Mexican art history, was a bicultural individual who introduced famed Mexican muralists to the United States art world and who became a legendary figure in Mexican folklore from the 1920s through the 1960s. This paper traces her career. (JB)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED189876

Alma Reed: A Unique Bicultural Bridge Between North American and Mexican Cultures in the Twentieth Century

By Dr. Neal Finer
Assistant Professor
Department of Secondary and Bilingual Education

Arizona State University
Tempe, Arizona

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Neal Finer

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U S DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

October 1, 1979

FL 011 557

Table of Contents

I. Introduction

II. Who is Alma Reed And what does she contribute to Mexican Art History?

Early Background
Felipe Carrillo Puerto and her introduction to Mexico
The legend of "La Peregrina"
Her journalistic career in New York, Greece, and Mexico
Her international circle of friends
Her return to Mexico
Her writings and observations made by friends and associates

III. Conclusion

Preface

This author has a sincere desire to reveal the breadth and depth of this uniquely Bicultural and remarkable individual. Alma Reed was first introduced to this author in the Spring of 1965 at an art gathering in Mexico City. A warm friendship and interest in her, ensued during the following year and it was then that the research for this paper truly began.

The research was continued with a series of interviews with the close associates and friends of Alma Reed while this author was visiting in Mexico City in September 1969. The most informative interviews included taped visits with Francisco Valladares, close friend of Miss Reed and the brother-in-law of Jose Clemente Orozco; Anita Brenner, noted Mexican historian; Richard Posner secretary and assistant to Miss Reed; and Justino Fernandez, the outstanding Mexican art historian. Other interviews that were helpful included Eulalia Guzman, Rex Marcum, Professor Arnaiz y Freg, and the archivists with the Mexico City News and Mexican Life. Primary sources included Miss Reed's personal scrapbook, letters, fragmentary biographical notes, and her own writings - published and unpublished. Additional sources include answers to letters of inquiry written Miss Reed's two brothers in San Francisco, California, Stanley and Prescott Sullivan; Pablo Bush R; Howard Phillips; Inez Amor; the widow of Jose Clemente Orozco; and Merle Wachter, all in Mexico City.

I. Introduction

Alma Reed has received fragmentary attention from historians and art historians. It is the purpose of this study to fill in the voids and reveal as nearly as possible a comprehensive picture of one of the twentieth century's most Bicultural and fascinating characters. The precise focus will be on Miss Reed's contributions and role in the art history of Mexico. It will be necessary to briefly survey her complex and varied life in order to arrive at some reasonable assessment of this work.

This study will trace her career chronologically from her early journalistic days at the San Francisco Call-Bulletin; her work in Greece for the New York Times; through her later years in Mexico City at the News, Mexican Life, Fondo de Cultura Economica, and for Crown Publishers. This author will seek to go beyond the recantations of the cognitive level and try to present to the reader some of the vitality and idealism that motivated Miss Reed's tireless efforts. The question of who Alma Reed really is, will be considered as requisite to arriving at a fair assessment of her contributions to Mexico's artistic life. This second question of what does Miss Reed contribute will also begin on the cognitive level through a study of her first interest in Mayan archaeology while visiting Felipe Carrillo Puerto in Merida; her interest in Greek and Italian antiquities; her vital role in introducing Jose Clemente Orozco to the American art world; her famous art gallery on New York's Fifty Seventh Street- the Delphic Studios which opened many North American and European eyes to modern Mexican art; and lastly, her voluminous writings on ancient and modern Mexican art. This second question will also enter the affective domain where assessments of her work by noted Mexican and North American authorities will be considered.

II. Who Is Alma Reed and What Does She Contribute to Mexican Art History?

Alma Reed grew to maturity in a prosperous, cultured, intellectual environment in the San Francisco Bay Area. She was educated at the University of California at Berkeley and abroad where she studied art history, philosophy, classical languages, and journalism.[1] Following graduation, she joined the staff of the San Francisco Call-Bulletin. One of her first major series of articles was on social inequities for Mexican Americans in California.[2] This article series appeared in 1919 and 1920. President Alvaro Obregon became aware of her humanitarian efforts in behalf of Mexican Americans, and in late 1920 invited Miss Reed to visit him and his wife in Mexico City.[3] It was on this first visit to Mexico that Alma Reed became a student of Mexican archaeology and art.

In 1920, Miss Reed was offered a position on the staff of the New York Times which she accepted early the following year. In the spring of 1921 she was sent on assignment to write a series of articles on Mexican archaeology.[4] Upon arriving in the Yucatan, she met the State Governor, Felipe Carrillo Puerto, who was a humanitarian, socialist reformer, and student of Mayan archaeology and art.[5] There was a great mutual bridge of interests and within a few short months the couple fell in love and planned to be married.[6] While Alma was on her way home to San Francisco to prepare for the wedding, political rebellion began a resurgence. By the time she returned to Mexico, the De la Huerta revolt had spread to the Yucatan; and she received word as she neared her destination of the assassination of Carrillo Puerto.[7] The tragic news resulted in her return to New York and her immediate change of directions. She received an assignment to write a series of articles on archaeological investigations in Italy and Greece for the Times.[8]

In Greece in 1924, Alma became close friends with Eva Sikelianos, the wife of Angelo Sikelianos - the tragic Greek poet who had sought a Greek cultual renaissance.[9] Miss Reed's idealism and humanitarian spirit were quickly

inspired by the efforts of the Sikelianos'. She was deeply moved by the profound and lofty poems of Angelo and began her most scholarly undertaking up to this point - the translation into English of the major works of Sikelianos. This single achievement brought her numerous accolades, including the prestigious Greek Cross from the Greek Government,[10]

By 1927, Alma Reed and Madame Sikelianos had decided to return to New York to seek financial support for the cause of Greek resurgence and to organize excursions to the biennial festivals in Delphos. In 1928 the two ladies established a lively literary and revolutionary salon in a spacious house on lower Fifth Avenue near Washington Square.[11] The two ladies worked tirelessly to promote the festivals which were to include presentations of Prometheus Bound and The Suppliants in the Delphic Theatre.[12] Exhibitions of popular art, songs, dances of the shepherds from Parnassus, as well as possible Olympic Games in the Stadium were also to be a part of this renaissance movement. Their New York home became a cultural center for a diverse and highly animated circle of international figures, including Kahlil Gibran, Isadora Duncan, Sarojini Naidu- disciple of Mahatma Ganhi, and Jose Clemente Orozco.[13]

In 1928, Alma Reed was introduced to Jose Clemente Orozco in the home of Anita Brenner, who had known him in Mexico and had just completed an article about his achievements for an American art journal.[14] Miss Brenner confided to Alma that since Orozco's arrival in New York he had been living in dismal obscurity, loneliness, and near financial ruin.[15] Miss Brenner felt that with Miss Reed's wide contacts that she could perhaps offer this distinguished artist some hope for

recognition in the United States.

Miss Reed wrote in her biography of Orozco:

> Deeply disturbed by Orozco's situation, thus I realized at once that this was not the ordinary case of the artist who happens to find himself in temporary need. Here, I felt was a breach of international courtesy that threw a spotlight on our own sense of values. Not one of our wealthy and socially prominent art patronsor subsidized cultural institutions had made the slightest gesture of welcome to this renowned master of the long-lost technique of true fresco, whose epic murals in Mexico's public buildings had not only revived but substantially enriched the classic medium. Obviously, no foreign artist was in a better position to repay hospitality than the famous Orozco, from whom the eager experimenting American painters of the period,eager to launch a mural movement of their own, could learn so much.[16]

Soon Miss Reed had plans to promote Orozco's work among her friends and to bring wide publicity to his distinguished presence in New York. She found Orozco an intellectual giant and he found in her the lofty idealism and spiritual substance that was to become the cement of their friendship and business relationship.[17]

It was at this point in 1928, that Alma began to return to her former interest in Mexican culture. She became deeply sympathetic with the plight of Orozco whose idealism forced him to leave his homeland lest he would have to compromise and temper his painting. Orozco wrote in his autobiography that following the loss of Vasconcelos in the role of protector (1924-26),

> Siquieros and I were flung out on the cruel streets by the students and our murals were seriously damaged by sticks, rocks, and knife gashes...the Syndicate of Artists had split into several rival factions and did nothing to support his cause.[18]

Orozco explained to Alma the impossible working conditions he was faced with in Mexico, at least temporarily, were due to clerical opposition to his public condemnation of ecclesiastical excesses and superstition. He was at the height of his aesthetic maturity yet he needed to make a strategic retreat from the Mexican art scene.[19] To Alma this form of social injustice was a call to action. She had a deep awareness of the situation in Mexico from her days with Felipe Carrillo Puerto and desired the opportunity to continue to support the revolutionary ideals. One way, she felt was to afford Orozco every possible opportunity for success in the United States. She was able to secure the necessary introductions and contacts to be commissioned for murals at Claremont College in Pomona, California; the New School for Social Research, New York City, and Dartmouth College. Soon Alma had arranged for showings of his works at numerous prestigious New York Galleries including the Marie Sterner gallery; the Downtown Gallery; and with the help of Thomas H. Benton at the Art Students' League on April 15, 1929.[20]

Orozco was deeply influenced by Greek ideals and figures he became acquainted with at Alma's home. In fact he used many of the mighty Greek figures for some of his finest works such as the heroic Prometheus at Pomona College.[21] Their mutual inspiration increased with the years.[22] Miss Reed was Orozco's representative in his dealings with American dealers and other professionals. This was clearly seen in the meeting between Frank Lloyd Wright and Orozco and Alma which lasted three hours. Alma recalls that Mr. Wright offered to collaborate with Orozco on several important buildings if the artist would move his family to Wisconsin; Orozco discussed this with Alma and explained that he felt it would never work due to Wright's ideas that the architect takes precedence over the artist. He asked Alma to speak to Wright for him and decline the offer. Alma tried to convin e him to at least try working with Wright on a trial basis, but Orozco was adamant and she complied with his wishes and they left.[23]

Alma also established the famous Delphic Studios in October 1929 which firmly established Orozco on the

New York scene... She wrote in her diary:

> Orozco had a tempermental aversion to assuming obligations that he might not be able to meet promptly. I finally convinced him that his concern about any obligation to me was without any validity. As he well knew that I considered his works beyond price....In mutual confidence and high hopes, and in the spirit of exciting adventure, we committed to continue to work together on his several exhibitions until we could established a permanent gallery together.[24]

The gallery was established at 9 East Fifty Seventh Street, in the same building with the Marie Sterner Gallery where Orozco's first New York exhibition was held.[25] It was tastefully furnished with Orozco designed furniture and a Thomas H. Benton designed rug. At first it flourished with great vigor and promise, but with the stock market crash profits began to quickly diminish. The ensuing Depression years saw Orozco's return to Mexico and the eventual close of the Delphic Studios. Nevertheless the inroad had been made into the American art scene by the Mexican painters which would continue in the ensuing years, after 1940.

In the early 1940's, Alma returned to Mexico on several visits usually spending part of her time with the Orozco family and her other friends from the 1920's. Finally, it was apparent to Alma that her heart and soul were in Mexico more than Manhattan, so she took up residence in an apartment on the Avenida de la Reforma in the Mexican capital. She writes warmly of her return to Mexico:

> At a reception given Orozco at my Reforma Apartment, at the close of his visit, the poet Luis Rosada Vega, author of the song "Peregrina" set to the music of Ricardo Palmerin, came to my gathering....[26]

This song about the beautiful young Alma who had been the love of Carrillo Puerto has made Alma a legendary and

mystical figure to thousands of Mexicans. Alma found her home upon returning to Mexico and the affection became a mutual affair for another three decades of intense activity on the Mexican art scene.

Alejandro Sux relates that the first time he had heard of Alma was in 1925 when he visited the house of Elva Carrillo Puerto, the sister of the famous Yucatecan martyr. She was spoken of by the family with deepest affection.[27] This affection was widespread, particularly due to the popular song "La Peregrina" which was heard in the homes and meeting places throughout Mexico. Alma had become a legendary princess in the minds and hearts of countless Mexicans.[28] She was thought of as a romantic enchanted figure who was the beloved of the almost mystical Felipe Carrillo Puerto.

The words to this famous song are:

Peregrina, de ojos claros y divinos
y mejillas encendidas de arrebol.
Mujercita, de los labios purpurinos
y radiante cabellera como el sol.
Peregrina que dejaste tus lugares,
los abetos y la nieve, la nieve virginal,
y viniste a refugiarte en mis palmares
bajo el cielo de mi tierra, de mi tierra tropical.
Cuando dejas mis palmares y mi tierra,
Peregrina, del semblante encantador,
no te olvides, no te olvides de mi tierra,
no te olvides, no te olvides de mi amor.[29]

Mr. Sux describes the images popularly held of Alma, held in 1925, as the princess from the north who had the soul and spirit of the Mexican people.[30] It has been noted that her very name, Alma, means in Spanish - soul.[31] As her later years will testify, her soul and affection were directly dedicated to the preservation and appreciation of Mexican culture. In fact, Alma was to be the recipient of the highest award given to a foreigner, "The Aztec Eagle."[32] As one of the strongest, clearest voices (non-native) to be heard supporting the excavations in the Yucatan, Miss Reed's later image popularly held tended to become one of a distinguished patroness of Mexican art.[33]

In 1956, Alejandro met Miss Reed thirty years after first hearing of her in the Yucatan. He describes her on this meeting as a women of seasoned charm, a warm happy smile, and deep penetrating eyes of vitality and experience. At the time of their meeting in the home of a Mexico City journalist, they were surrounded by many of her close friends who included writers, poets, musicians, painters, actors, diplomats, politicians, and philosophers. It was a thoroughly cosmopolitan, heterogeneous group. During their visit, he notes a common thread that immediately inspired their friendship- that of deep concern for liberty and fairness and an abhorence for social or aesthetic injustice or destruction.[34] These qualities characterize Miss Reed's image most consistently from her early days in San Francisco, throughout her life and career, and through her later work in Mexico.

Miss Reed's work in Mexico from 1940 through the 1960's was well known because of her cultural items appearing in the Mexico City publications, the News and the Mexican Life. She reported the latest news on the excavations in the Yucatan with great enthusiasm and warmth.[35] She wrote more from the heart and depths of sincere appreciation and wonder at Mexican culture than perhaps many of her scholarly contemporaries recognize.[36] She was a careful scholar and student of the scientific aspects of art and archaeology, yet she never allowed intellectuallism or academic jargon to obscure the pure appreciation of artistic quality and humanitarian values.[37]

The depths of her study, dedication, and activity can best be assessed from her writing during this period as well as observations made by her friends and associates. Miss Reed wrote consistently about the areas of Mexican art history with which she was most familiar. Her first significant publication on Mexican art was produced by Delphic Studios in New York in 1932 which was entitled José Clemente Orozco and was a compilation of the artist's major works. During the remainder of the 1930's and 1940's, her major efforts were journalistic - principally for the New York Times, the Mexico City News, and in the 1950's and 1960's - principally for the News and Mexican Life.

In 1955, her second and most significant book appeared about the life of Orozco published by the Fondo de Cultura Economica in Mexico City which was translated into English and published in 1956 by Oxford University Press in New York. The Handbook of Latin American Studies characterizes this work quite favorably:

> This compendious biography is the most thorough and substantial yet written on the life of Orozco . Miss Reed, who first came to know him well in New York, gives a firsthand personal account of the artist. His various sojourns in New York and Dartmouth College, his relations with other artists, collectors, and admirers are recounted in great detail The book will remain a primary source for a study of the life and art of Orozco. Although the book is a full length biography, the author is most effective in dealing with the artist in the United States because of her personal knowledge of those years.[38]

Stanley R. Ross in his Fuentes de la Historia Contemporanea de Mexico: Periodicos y Revistas II cites numerous articles on art and archaeology by and about Miss Reed's work in Mexico.[39] In October through December of 1955, a series of articles appeared in a Veracruz newspaper entitled "El humanismo de Orozco." She summarizes Orozco's career and characterizes him as a continuator of the humanistic tradition of European culture. The articles are well written and of sound scholarship.[40]

In 1960, several significant works by Miss Reed appeared including: a descriptive booklet, Uxmal and the Cities of the Low Hills of the Yucatan; and the well illustrated volume, The Mexican Muralists . This latter work gives an introduction to the Mexican murals through a study of the pre-conquest. She describes the character of the different frescoes , e.g. ritualistic in Teothuacan, symbolic in Tulum, and scenes of life and war in Bonampak. She relates that the ancient murals were apparently the work of groups, not of individuals as today. She cites other authorities largely, yet she does make some sound personal interpretation of pre- conquest art.[41]

In 196 , Miss Reed wrote a dramatic and interesting account of the recovery of Mayan artifacts, through the underwater diving of the C E D A M headed by Pablo Bush Romero, entitled: The Sacred Well of Chichen Itza Gives Up Ancient Treasure Once More. She visited the operations at the cenote and was intimately associated with the site and its archaeological significance. It is a sound description of background history as well as a survey of the precise nature of the artifacts brought to the surface.[42]

In the Mexican Life, October 1962, Miss Reed presented an article on "Netzahualcoyotl's Leadership" which is brief and more superficial than most of her writings. It is essentially undocumented except for a reference to Leon Portilla, nevertheless it reveals the breadth and diversity of her interest

Her writings continued to appear in the Mexican Life; and in 1964, two popularized articles were to receive attention from the lay public. Miss Reed often wrote more to inform the general populous of artistic resources in Mexico rather than to inform the intellectual community exclusively.[44] Her first article appeared in March and dealt with the importance of the Zoachila site to the understanding of Mixtec history and culture; it was entitled "Mixtec Culture at Zoachila." The second article, entitled "Similarities of Aztec and Maya Cultures" appeared in May and presented the general similarities between the two cultures.[45]

By 1966, Alma had produced a significant handbook for the educated traveler and general reader. The Ancient Past of Mexico was published by Crown Publishers in New York and included a foreword by Eusebio Davalos Hurtado plus numerous maps and illustrations. It is basically a careful description of the architecture and discoveries at the major sites of archaeology in Mexico with a narrative history of their exploration. She includes commentaries by archaeologists involved in the fieldwork which is limited to include only the Mayan areas within the Mexican frontier. Miss Reed has sought to give a broad overview of all the pre-Hispanic cultures of Mexico. The emphasis is on late pre-Hispanic culture derived from documentary and pictorial sources.[46]

These are Miss Reed's major writings contributing to the development of Mexican art history. They range from the scholarly to the popular in tone, most often aimed at the broad middle range of intellectual interest. The noted Mexican art historian, Justino Fernandez, notes that Miss Reed is read widely by the general audience and less by the sophisticated archaeologist or art historian. Nevertheless, it was pointed out that she does provide vital insights, particularly in her work about Orozco.[47] Professor Arturo Arnaiz y Freg from the National University of Mexico, assesses Miss Reed's work as highly significant in bringing a wider understanding of the treasures of Mexican art and archaeology to the general reading audience.[48] The highly respected archaeologist, Eulalia Guzman, describes Alma as a scholar who sought to simplify and share her discoveries with a broad audience.[49] The politically and socially elite, Francisco Valladares, who is the brother-in-law of Orozco and a close friend of both ex-President Obregon and also Alma Reed, reveals that Alma's work expresses her deep love for humanity and her desire to disseminate her appreciation of the riches of Mexican culture on the widest plane possible.[50] Miss Reed's assistant in the 1960's, Richard Posner, describes Alma's inward motivation for her research and writings as tireless and selfless.[51] The preservation and appreciation of Mexican artistic culture characterize the spirit and actions of Miss Reed's work.

III. Conclusion

The life of Alma Reed may be characterized by its dedication to social justice and the appreciation of cultural heritage. In addition to tireless and idealistic motivation, Miss Reed is also a legend of beauty and mobility in the minds of countless Mexicans... La Peregrina. Her role in the history Mexico is symbolized by her receipt of the "Aguila Azteca." She came to Mexico as a young woman, became enamored with the culture and ideals of the revolutionary republic, and was engaged to the famous Yucatecan socialist governor, Felipe Carrillo Puerto. Despite his assassination and her departure from the Mexican scene for several years, she nevertheless found her heart was still in Mexico. She was to introduce Orozco to the United States' art world. She also assisted Alfaro Siquieros and other contemporary Mexican artists while in New York. She returned to Mexico to conduct her greatest work for over three decades in the field of writing and researching Mexican archaeology and art history. Her works were aimed at a wide audience of readers and sought to awaken a deep appreciation of the rich cultural resources of Mexican art and archaeology.

She became a highly respected member of the Mexican art scene, particularly because of her definitive work on the years she worked with Orozco in New York. Also her ceaseless investigations into the world of pre-Hispanic antiquity and its relationship to the contemporary art scene in Mexico have given her valuable insight and perception. Her vast range of acquaintances from Presidents to philosophers give her work authenticity, depth, vitality, and enduring relevancy.

Endnotes

[1]Interview with Alma Reed , Mexico D F , June 18, 1966.

[2]Interview with Richard Posner, Mexico D F , September 21, 1969.

[3]Ibid.

[4]Jose Clemente Orozco, An Autobiography (Austin, Texas: The University of Texas Press, 1962.

[5]Interview with Richard Posner, Mexico D F , September 22, 1969.

[6]Orozco, Autobiography, p. 127; Alejandro Sux, "Alma Reed'La Peregrina'," (Hoy , Mexico, June 9, 1956), p. 22.

[7]Ibid.

[8]Interview with Richard Posner, Mexico D. F., September 22, 1969; Interview with Alma Reed, Mexico D. F., July 9, 1966.

[9]Alma Reed's diary, Mexico D F. ; Interview with Richard Posner Mexico D.F., September 22, 1969.

[10]Interview with Richard Posner , Mexico D F , September 23, 1969; Interview with Francisco Valladares, Mexico D F , September 20, 1969.

[11]Alma Reed, Orozco (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956', p.32.

[12]Orozco, Autobiography , p. 127.

[13] Ibid., p. 128; Interview with Richard Posner, Mexico D.F., September 22, 1969.

[14]Reed, Orozco, p. 3.

[15]Interview with Anita Brenner, Mexico D. F., September 19, 1969.

[16]Reed, Orozco, p. 4.

[17]Ibid., p.5.

[18]Ibid., p.31.

[19]Ibid., pp.30-31.

[20]Ibid., pp. 107-8.

[21] Ibid., p. 169. Miss Reed recounts that Kahlil Gibran often came to dinner and read his poems to her and Orozco.

[22]Interview with Alma Reed, Mexico D. F., July 9, 1966.

[23]Reed, Orozco, pp. 225-6.

[24]Ibid., p. 77.

[25]Ibid., p. 133.

[26]Ibid., p. 282.

[27]Alejandro Sux, "Alma Reed'La Peregrina'," (Hoy, Mexico, June 9, 1956), p. 22.

[28]Ibid.

[29]Ibid.

[30]Ibid.

[31]Interview with Richard Posner, Mexico D.F, September 23, 1969.

[32]Pablo Bush Romero wrote this description of Miss Reed in the foreword to her book: Alma Reed, El Cenote de Chichen Itza de Nuevo Antiguo Tesoro (Mexico: CEDAM, 1961), p. 26.

[33]Mackinley Helm, Modern Mexican Painters (Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968), p. 199.

[34]Sux, Hoy, p. 22.

[35]Interview with the archivists at the News and Mexican Life, Mexico D. F., September 17, 1969.

[36]Interview with Justino Fernandez, Mexico D F, September 18, 1969.

[37]Interview with Richard Posner, Mexico D F., September 22, 1969.

[38]Handbook of Latin American Studies, Vol. 20, p. 72.

[39]Stanley R. Ross, Fuentes de la Historia Contemporanea de Mexico: Periodicos y Revistas II (Mexico D F : El Colegio de Mexico, 1966), p. 76.

[40]Alma Reed, "El humanismo de Orozco," Universal (Veracruz) 4:4 October-December, 1955, p. 35-44.

[41]Alma Reed, Mexican Muralists (New York: Crown Publishers, 1960).

[42]Alma Reed, The Sacred Well of Chichen Itza Gives Up Ancient Treasure Once More (Mexico D F: CEDAM, 1961), pp. 1-36.

[43]Alma Reed, "Netzahualcoyotl's Leadership," Mexican Life 38:10, October 1962, pp. 20-22.

[44]Interview with Alma Reed, Mexico D.F., June 18 and July 9, 1966.

[45]Alma Reed, "Mixtec Culture," Mexican Life, 40:3, March 1964, pp. 13-14, 66; _____, "Similarities of Aztec and Maya Cultures," Mexican Life, 40:5, May 1964, pp. 25-26.

[46]Alma Reed, Ancient Past of Mexico (New York: Crown Publishers, 1966).

[47]Interview with Justino Fernandez, Mexico D.F., September 18, 1969.

[48]Interview with Arturo Arnaiz y Freg, Mexico D.F., September 17, 1969.
[49]Interview with Eulalia Guzman, Mexico D.F., September 19, 1969.
[50]Interview with Francisco Valladares, Mexico D.F., September 20, 1969.
[51]Interview with Richard Posner, Mexico D.F., September 21, 22, 23, 1969.

Bibliography

BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Albertos, Ancona. "Alma Reed, La Peregrina," El Popular. January 7, 1946.

Cardoza y Aragon, Luis. Mexico: Pintura Activa. Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1961.

Handbook of Latin American Studies. Volumes 20, 22, 23, 25, 29.

Helm, Mackinley. Modern Mexican Painters. Freeport, New York: Books for Libraries Press, 1968.

Myers, Bernard S. Mexican Painting in Our Time. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

Orozco, Jose Clemente. An Autobiography. Austin, Texas: The University of Texas, 1962.

Reed, Alma. Ancient Past of Mexico. New York: Crown Publishers, 1966.

_____. El Cenote Sagrado de Chichen Itza Cede de Nuevo Antiguo Tesoro. Mexico D F : Publicacion C. E. D. A. M., 1961.

_____. Mexican Muralists. New York: Crown Publishers, 1960.

_____. "Netzahualcoyotl's Leadership," Mexican Life 38: 10, Otober 1962.

_____. Orozco. New York: Delphic Studios, 1932.

_____. J. C Orozco. Fondo de Cultura Economica: Mexico, 1955.

_____. I. C. Orozco. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

_____. Uxmal and the Cities of the Low Hills of the Yucatan Region. Mexico: n.p., 1960.

Ross, Stanley R. Fuentes de la Historia Contemporanea de Mexico Periodicos y Revistas II. Mexico D F. : El Colegio de Mexico, 1966.

Sux, Alejandro. " Alma Reed ' La Peregrina', " Hoy .(Mexico) June 9,1956.

INTERVIEWS

Interview with Arturo Arnaiz y Freg, Mexico D.F., September 17, 1969.

Interview with the archivists at the News and Mexican Life, Mexico D.F. September 17, 1969.

Interview with Anita Brenner, Mexico D .F., September 19, 1969.

Interview with Iustino Fernandez, Mexico D.F., September 18, 1969.

Interview with Eulalia Guzman, Mexico D.F. , September 19, 1969.

Interview with Rex Marcum, Mexico D.F., September 18, 1969.

Interview with Richard Posner, Mexico D.F., September 21, 22, 23, 196

Interview with Alma Reed, Mexico D.F., June 18 and July 9, 1966.

Interview with Francisco Valladares, Mexico D.F., September 20, 1969

LETTERS

Letter from Inez Amor Gallery Director, Mexico D F , October 10, 1969.
Letter from Pablo Bush Romero, Mexico D. F. , October 6, 1969.
Letter from Howard Phillips, Mexico D.F., October 9, 1969.
Letter from Prescott Sullivan, San Francisco, California, October 20, 1969.
Letter from Stanley Sullivan, San Francisco, California, October 27, 1969.
Letter from Merle Wachter, Mexico D F , August 20, 1969.

NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES

Excelsior (Mexico D F), 1940-1966.
New York Times (New York), 1921-26; 1928-57.
El Popular (Mexico D F), 1924.
El Sol (Yucatan), 1924.
El Universal (Mexico D F), 1924.
San Francisco Call-Bulletin (San Francisco, California), 1918-20.
Universal (Veracruz), 1955.